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In matters of detail the author is fairly accurate; though there are a few errors which argue a lack of familiarity with the best secondary authorities within her field. After making all necessary deductions, it may still be said that the book will furnish to the discriminating student a considerable fund of information not so conveniently accessible elsewhere.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XXI., 1624. Vol. XXII., 1625-1629. Vol. XXIII., 1629-1630. Vol. XXIV., 1630-1634. Vol. XXV., 1635-1636. Vol. XXVI., 1636. Vol. XXVII., 1636-1637. Vol. XXIX., 1638-1640. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1905. Pp. 320, 323, 297, 340, 322, 315, 366, 315.)

TWELVE volumes of this the most valuable work ever published in Philippine history were issued during 1905, coming down to volume XXXII. Of these, eight volumes are here reviewed, leaving for separate review the appendix on ecclesiastical and religious affairs which occupies most of volume XXVIII. and the history of the Dominicans in the Philippines by Aduarte, occupying half of volume XXX. and the two succeeding volumes.

This series is to consist of fifty-five volumes, hence is considerably more than half completed. Yet it will be noted that we are brought down chronologically only to 1640, leaving half the seventeenth century, all the eighteenth, and all the final century of Spanish rule to be covered in twenty-three volumes, including also the complete index which we are promised. It is true, however, that some of the old works which have been republished in part or wholly in the series thus far have covered not only events of 1565 to 1640, but also to some extent later happenings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the ecclesiastical appendix in volume XXVIII. republishes documents summarizing matters of this character down to the close of Spanish rule in the Philippines. This form of treatment by subjects, regardless of strict chronological sequence, may be followed in the succeeding volumes with reference to other than ecclesiastical matters; and it is probably the intention of the editors to deal with the nineteenth century, and to some extent with the eighteenth century, by republishing in translation some of the more important works which are so scarce as virtually to be inaccessible to most students. Nevertheless, the question will arise whether or no too much space has not been given to documents of the conquest period merely, leaving correspondingly less space for the bringing out of hitherto unknown documentary sources upon the really more important periods of Philippine history which follow. These subsequent periods are, moreover, precisely those upon which least light has been shed, apart from certain events and controversies of

a striking character which have monopolized the attention of the so-called historians of the Philippines, who have usually confused rather than cleared up the facts regarding them, while leaving large hiatuses in their treatment of Philippine economic history, administrative policy and mechanism, and the larger questions regarding the social development of the Filipinos.

Volume XXI. is entirely occupied with matters ecclesiastical and religious. Among the five documents of 1624, the one of most importance consists of records from the archives regarding Archbishop Serrano's attempt of 1624 to inspect the Paco parish. The royal decrees, etc., all support the jurisdiction of the ordinary against the claims of the regular orders of exemption from episcopal visitation. Serrano yielded, however; the Audiencia would not back him in the little excommunication war which resulted; and this question was not settled till long after. Two-thirds of the volume are given to reprints in abstracts and translations of portions of the histories of the Recollects by Andrés de San Nicolás (1664), Luis de Jesus (1681), and Juan de la Concepción (1788), and we have facsimiles of these old title-pages. San Nicolás's observations on the customs of the primitive Filipinos are hearsay and often suspicious; Luis de Jesus seems more accurate, though rehearsing hearsay that has come down through a succession of unscientific observers. Precisely the things to be accepted with very great caution are the "wonder-tales" of this sort, which are duplicated over and over again in writings on early Philippine history, and are often solemnly quoted as if they were scientifically established facts. In this same category must be put the relation of the Jesuit Bobadilla (1640), reproduced in volume XXIX. from Thévenot's *Relations* (Paris, 1696).

Volume XXII. contains an array of miscellaneous documents. These cover mostly old ground. The editors have selected from the *Laws of the Indies* decrees regarding the Chinese in the Philippines.

Over half of volume XXIII. and half of volume XXIV. are occupied by the translation, partly in synopsis, of the history of the Augustinian order in the Philippines by Father Juan de Medina. It would have been just as well if space had been saved by much more synopsis; indeed, the whole work might be omitted without loss, especially since, though written in 1630, it was published only in 1893 at Manila. It gives little information not elsewhere obtainable in better form, except for its revelations of quarrels, and even murders, in the Augustinian order at Manila. The note on the increase of Philippine population from the period of the Spanish Conquest to 1903 is drawn in part from an entirely uncritical source, the United States Philippine *Gazetteer* (a document which ought never to have been published). Population statistics in the Philippines require careful scrutiny, both as to source and contents, even to the very last year of Spanish rule. Documents published in earlier volumes of this same series have indicated a larger population for the Philippines at the time of the conquest than has ordinarily been estimated; and in the light of some of these documents the in-

teresting study of early Philippine population by Dr. David P. Barrows in *Census of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905, I. 411-491) will have to be revised. The other half of each of the volumes under consideration (XXIII. and XXIV.) comprises miscellaneous documents, containing a good deal of valuable matter. Incidentally we find Governor-general Távora saying bluntly in 1629, as regards the probabilities of speculations, that the "offices in the Indies are not worth anything unless one steals" (XXIII. 41). From a number of references in volume XXIII. we discover that the one hundred and thirty lepers sent to Manila by the Mikado of Japan in 1631, an incident which has been given its picturesque version in almost every historical sketch of the Philippines, were not exactly the tribute, sarcastic or otherwise, of a "heathen" to Christian charity, but were in reality Japanese who had been converted to Christianity by some of the missionary fathers whose banishment from Japan had long before been decreed.

Data on commerce and the related subject of Philippine colonial finance make up not only the largest part, but also the most significant part, of the documents in volumes XXV., XXVI., and XXVII. Among these, first place must be assigned to the memorials of Juan Grau y Monfalcón, and especially that of 1637, reproduced in translation in volume XXVII. from a printed copy in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, collated with later imperfect copies. Despite the author's involved reasoning and wearisome repetitions, this is one of the most important documents of early Philippine history; and we are indebted to the editors for this painstaking and complete version of it in good English. Grau y Monfalcón was appointed by the distressed Spaniards in Manila their procurator before the court at Madrid to represent the declining state of Spanish commerce in the Orient in the face of Dutch and Portuguese aggressions and of the harsh restrictions put upon their trade with America at the behest of the home manufacturers and traders in Spain. In a large degree the other documents of these volumes are corroboratory or supplementary of the procurator's testimony. Incidentally, we gather interesting evidence as to the poor "trading character" of the Spaniards, revealed as well in these early days as later, and being a fact quite as important perhaps as the bad commercial policy of Spain in her colonial career (a colonial policy which was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries quite similar to that of the nations which succeeded as traders). The grievances against the Portuguese in Macao, who were shutting off Chinese trade with Manila and even ousting Spanish merchants on their own ground at Manila, point most plainly to this poor trading character of the latter; for the Portuguese were not only kindred in race, as the Dutch rivals were not, but they were at that time politically subordinate to the crown of Spain. Another reason, apart from questions of national policy, why the Dutch were ousting the Spaniards (who rested in their purely military strongholds) from the control of the East-Indian archipelago, ap-

appears in Governor-general Corcuera's statement (XXVII. 362) that the Spaniard who had for some years held the post of governor of Ternate had amassed there a fortune of \$400,000 (and less perhaps by unlawful private trading than by abuse of the military funds and authority given to him).

Grau y Monfalcón and the various supplementary data in other documents give pretty full explanation regarding the amount and value of the Manila-Acapulco galleon-trade, and details as to its conduct, the tariff system, the trade restrictions, etc. Incidentally, in connection with the detailed information about Philippine revenues and expenditures, we are shown also what was Spain's military establishment in the Philippines and the Orient generally. This is a very closely related subject, for the Philippine budget included also the establishments in the Moluccas and Formosa. Hence, while we here have plain proof that the Philippine revenues proper (exclusive of some \$300,000 collected in galleon duties at Acapulco) produced at this time only about \$250,000 of the \$850,000 spent from Manila, and \$250,000 to \$300,000 had to be sent annually as a subsidy from the treasury of Mexico, yet Grau y Monfalcón figures the annual cost of the Moluccan and Formosan establishments to be more than the subsidy. Moreover, in years just previous, large expeditions for East-Indian conquest had been fitted out in the Philippines, the money cost falling in part upon adventurers hoping for returns and upon Manila merchants who advanced loans, while in still larger degree the burden fell upon the Filipinos, among whom forced labor was levied, while the more convenient Philippine forests were devastated. The Manila treasury accounts, too, show frauds perpetrated and favoritism extended at the expense of the interests of the royal estate, especially when the vigorous Governor-general Corcuera proceeds to turn things upside down in Manila. He informs the king that Formosa, where a Spanish post was established in 1626, is of no value to Spain, and that the people are too wild to convert. The galleon-trade, restricted to \$500,000 annually, is by many persons testified to mount by secret evasions and official collusion to three or four times that amount; yet the Mexican and Portuguese merchants who encroach upon it, and the Chinese retailers who are too clever for the Spanish traders in Manila, have been getting so much the better of the latter in reaping these illegal profits that Manila is commercially flat upon its back in 1636 and 1637, and the galleon-trade is for the time practically suspended. With all this, the old religio-commercial arguments are still held before the king, he is urged to see that Manila is "the key to the commerce of the Orient", and that if he does not regain and retain power in the Orient, the Dutch and English will press still more disastrously upon his commerce and outposts in the West Indies and the Atlantic Ocean.

The quarrel between Governor-general Corcuera and Archbishop Guerrero occupies the second half of volume XXV. and much of volume XXVI., while echoes of it are heard in volumes XXVII. and XXIX. There is necessarily much repetition, and condensation or

omission of some of the documents could be recommended, though it is all interesting. There are many complicating side-issues; for the Jesuits array themselves with the civil authority, and the friar orders with the archbishop. (In some of the phases of this quarrel, one would be inclined to put it the other way and say that the archbishop took up the cause of the monastic orders, and the governor-general that of the Jesuits; the governor-general was, however, a most independent character, while the archbishop seems to have been rather the tool of others.) Of this quarrel, which grew out of several incidents and involved some spectacular occurrences in the way of violation of sanctuary, a contest of military power with excommunications, a deluge of interdicts from civil and ecclesiastical courts, street brawls between Spaniards with swords and Spaniards with gowns, and finally the banishment of the old archbishop to Mariveles island at the mouth of Manila Bay, the real cause was the independent character of Corcuera himself. He made most vigorous and bitter representations to the king of the determination of the religious orders to rule or to undermine the authority of any governor-general who would not be ruled by them. Partly as a result of this, we find a decided trend toward secularization of Philippine parishes on the part of the Spanish court at this time. But neither this nor the issue involved as to the relative powers of archbishop and governor-general in the control of the royal patronage of religion in the Philippines was definitely decided at this time, as later history shows. There were then far more Spanish secular priests in the Philippines than there were at any time in the nineteenth century, and particularly in its latter half; and in the seventeenth century half-caste sons of Spanish fathers were being ordained as secular priests and admitted to the religious orders.

In an interesting tabulation whereby Corcuera's auditor shows recent frauds in the Manila treasury (XXVI. 152, 172-193), we note evidence (pp. 177-178, 192) that the wages allowed from the royal treasury for the pay of natives forced to work on the churches and convents were collected by the heads of the religious orders for which the work was done, who thus probably received double aid from the king's funds. Despite the abuses of forced labor during twoscore preceding years, the faithful services of the native soldiers, especially the Pampangans, but also the Tagalogs and Bikols, were highly praised by Corcuera and Grau y Monfalcón (XXV. 148, XXVI. 197, 202, 206-208), the latter saying: "Not one of those Indians has ever been found in rebellion, or has wrought any treachery, or deserted to the enemy" (XXV. 148). He recommends that some natives be made officers. We find also that Filipino soldiers, sailors, arsenal workmen, and other mechanics were deemed worth half as much pay as Spaniards in the same places. Corcuera's conquests in Mindanao and Joló (1635-1638) were in considerable degree dependent upon the loyalty and fighting qualities of his Pampangan regiments.

These campaigns are related in various documents in volumes XXVII. and XXIX., notably in letters of Jesuit chroniclers, who, as their order was specially favored by Corcuera, were not at all lax in glorifying him. The completion of the old fort at Samboanga (which still stands) dates from this time, and the Spaniards then first entered the Lake Lanao region, though Corcuera's principal campaigns were in the Cotabato district of Mindanao and on the island of Joló. Corcuera's disregard for law or precedent in his innovating course at Manila is brought out in the jealous charges of Admiral Bañuelos y Carrillo, in a protest from the royal treasurer, and in several decrees of the king. From the many documents of this volume (XXIX.), which is one of the most usefully edited of the series thus far, we get information principally along the following lines: (1) the conflicts between the regular and the secular clergy; (2) the abuse of the natives by Spaniards of both religious and lay estates; (3) the existence in the Philippines of negro slavery in some degree, and the extension of such slavery to the captured Moros, some also being sent to the galleys; (4) the Spanish policy of reprisal and retaliation upon the Moros after the Moros' own fashions, making it on both sides a sort of piratical, bushwhacking warfare which led to no permanent results but increase of mutual hatred and distrust; and (5) the low commercial status of Spanish power in the Orient. We have also in this volume a most interesting anonymous but contemporaneous document describing the Chinese revolt and ensuing massacres of 1639-1640. It appears that this was due to the suspension of the galleon-trade and hence loss of Chinese profits in Manila, the higher taxation of Chinese under Corcuera, and the compulsory measures taken by him to construct by Chinese labor a great royal rice-estate in what were then swamps around Calamba on the Laguna de Bay (estates which the Dominicans afterward obtained, forming part of the land lately sold by them to the Philippine government), malarial diseases decimating the Chinese laborers. On the Spanish side, we are told, the number killed during some three months of disturbances was forty-five Spaniards and three hundred Filipino soldiers, while the execution among the Chinese pike-bearers and spear-bearers, including also flocks of unarmed or disarmed Chinese massacred by official orders, was 22,000 to 24,000, leaving some 8,000 Chinese who finally surrendered.

In the eight volumes just under consideration, ninety documents (many of them made up of separate parts, such as Spanish royal decrees collected by subjects) are produced in translation, as are parts or the whole of seven old printed works. The editorial work upon these documents shows painstaking care and much discrimination (except for the queries raised above as to the space-value of some of the documents, in spite of the interest they possess); the translations—and this is important—appear generally to deserve the same commendation. The illustrations are all good, and some of the old plates reproduced are pertinent and valuable, *e. g.*, the Portuguese Berthelot's map (1635) of

the Philippines, Borneo, and the Celebes, reproduced in volume XXV., pp. 56-57, from an old copy in the British Museum.

JAMES A. LEROY.

The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut. By M. LOUISE GREENE, Ph.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 552.)

MISS GREENE has been fortunate in her theme, the gradual broadening and liberalizing of religion in a community where religion has always been of vital interest to the great majority of the population. She has also been most fortunate in the locality in which she was privileged to pursue her studies. Her careful and scholarly treatise bears plain evidence, not only of the abundant material that she has utilized out of the rich accumulations of the Yale Library, but also of the judicious spirit and wise counsels of the distinguished group of historical scholars to whom in her introduction she acknowledges her indebtedness. The city of New Haven, and Yale University itself, are monuments that illustrate the author's theme on every page of their history. Few places in New England could furnish worse examples of religious intolerance in the past; certainly there are none that can surpass them at the present day in the appreciation of an enlightened liberty.

The familiar facts in the introductory chapters upon Puritanism and New England Congregationalism are restated clearly and moderately and without prejudice. The services of the founders of the Connecticut colony to religious liberty at the very outset of its history are noticed and appreciated. The events which led to the adoption of a semi-Presbyterian system of government in the Saybrook Platform are carefully traced and recorded. The extremely interesting and significant story of the growth on Connecticut soil of the Episcopal church, and the startling episode of the declaration of the rector and tutors of Yale College that they intended to seek Episcopal ordination (a revolution that alarmed the whole of New England), are treated with great judgment and care. Connecticut men whose memories go back for only fifty years will recall anecdotes and traditions that they heard in their boyhood that show how bitter and how lasting was the feeling then engendered. It is not the least of Miss Greene's successes that she has discussed this subject with such impartiality.

The most interesting chapter in the religious history of Connecticut, the story of "The Great Awakening", is treated by Miss Greene with great judgment and impartiality. Her interest in it is religious and psychological rather than theological, and, though she explains the mysteries of the Edwardsian and Hopkinsian systems, she dwells, rightly, less on the doctrines discussed than upon the results of the movement on the religious and political life of the community.

With the same colorless impartiality, admirable as it is unusual, the author relates the disagreeable history of the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when union of religious and political privilege took